

## Message Text

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12

ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

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FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3039

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 0004

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PFOR EGEN CH

SUBJECT: PRC NATIONAL DAY EDITORIAL - STILL MARKING TIME

SUMMARY: THIS YEAR'S "PEOPLE'S DAILY", "RED FLAG", "LIBERATION  
ARMY DAILY" JOINT EDITORIAL WAS NOTEWORTHY MORE FOR WHAT IT  
DID NOT SAY THAN FOR WHAT IT SAID. THE IMPRESSION WAS ONE OF MARKING  
TIME WHILE THE IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN  
TO CRITICIZE LIN PIAO AND CONFUCIUS WINDS DOWN AND THE  
POPULACE IS BEING GEARED UP FOR NEW EFFORTS TO INCREASE  
PRODUCTION AFTER A YEAR THAT WAS MARKED BY INDUSTRIAL  
DISRUPTIONS. ALTHOUGH TOTAL INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL  
PRODUCTION WAS SAID TO HAVE INCREASED OVER 1973,  
ECONOMIC CLAIMS WERE LESS SPECIFIC THAN IN LAST YEAR'S  
EDITORIAL. ATTENTION WAS AGAIN PAID TO MILITARY AFFAIRS,  
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THE NECESSITY TO STUDY CHAIRMAN MAO'S MILITARY LINE AND

STRENGTHENING PARTY LEADERSHIP, PROBABLY REFLECTING A CONTINUING PROBLEM IN PARTY-MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS. FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE QUESTION OF THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN RECEIVED ONLY PERFUNCTORY TREATMENT, AND IN CONTRAST WITH LAST YEAR, THERE WAS NO MENTION OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS. END SUMMARY.

1. ON JANUARY 1 PEKING PUBLISHED ITS TRADITIONAL "PEOPLE'S DAILY", "RED FLAG", "LIBERATION ARMY DAILY" JOINT EDITORIAL SUMMING UP THE EVENTS OF THE YEAR AND SETTING THE TONE FOR THE NEW YEAR. THIS YEAR'S EDITORIAL WAS NOTEWORTHY MORE FOR WHAT IT DID NOT SAY THAN FOR WHAT IT SAID. THE IDEOLOGICAL TONE WAS SUBDUED, WITH EMPHASIS ON THEORETICAL STUDY AND CRITICISM RATHER THAN ON STRUGGLE. ALTHOUGH THE EDITORIAL NOTED THAT "THE SMALL NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE NOT DONE WELL IN THE CRITICISM OF LIN PIAO AND CONFUCIUS SHOULD TAKE IT UP IN REAL EARNEST," THERE WAS NOT THE THREATENING TONE OF LAST YEAR'S EDITORIAL WHEN INTELLECTUALS WERE SINGLED OUT FOR SPECIAL ATTENTION WITH THE CLAIM THAT "THERE WILL BE NO FUTURE FOR THEM IN GOING BACKWARDS." DESPITE THE EDITORIAL'S CLAIM THAT "IT IS NECESSARY TO CONTINUE TO GRASP THE CRITICISM OF LIN PIAO AND CONFUCIUS" THE IMPRESSION CONVEYED WAS ONE OF A CAMPAIGN WINDING DOWN. ADDING TO THIS IMPRESSION WAS THE ALMOST TOTAL ABSENCE OF REFERENCES TO THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, A PROMINENT FEATURE OF LAST YEAR'S EDITORIAL.

2. THE EDITORIAL CLAIMED AN "ALL-ROUND GOOD HARVEST" AND STATED THAT THE TOTAL VALUE OF INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION "SHOWED A FRESH INCREASE OVER 1973" (IN CONTRAST TO LAST YEAR'S SPECIFIC CLAIM OF MORE THAN 8 PERCENT). IT ALSO DID NOT SINGLE OUT ANY INDUSTRIAL SECTORS FOR SPECIAL MENTION, AS WAS THE CASE LAST YEAR. THE EDITORIAL THUS TENDS TO CONFIRM OTHER INDICATIONS OF A REASONABLY SUCCESSFUL YEAR IN AGRICULTURE, BUT OF DIFFICULTIES ELSEWHERE INCLUDING KNOWN DISRUPTIONS IN SUCH KEY SECTORS AS MINING AND TRANSPORTATION.

3. MILITARY AFFAIRS AND THE STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY'S  
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LEADERSHIP WERE AGAIN EMPHASIZED, PROBABLY REFLECTING THE CONTINUING PROBLEM OF PARTY-MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS. ON THE QUESTION OF THE MILITIA, WE NOTE THAT IN CONTRAST WITH LAST YEAR'S CALL TO "STEP UP THE BUILDING OF THE PEOPLE'S MILITIA, ESPECIALLY IN CITIES AND BORDER AREAS, AND RESOLUTELY STRIKE AT THE HANDFUL OF CLASS ENEMIES ENGAGED IN SABOTAGE", THIS YEAR'S EDITORIAL SIMPLY STATES "IT IS NECESSARY TO BRING THE MILITANT ROLE OF THE PEOPLE'S MILITIA

INTO FULL PLAY." IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE CONTROVERSY OVER WHO CONTROLS THE MILITIA WHICH WAS ACUTE AT THE END OF 1973 MAY NOW LARGELY HAVE BEEN RESOLVED. COMPROMISES WITH THE MILITARY WERE SUGGESTED, HOWEVER, BY TWO POSITIVE REFERENCES TO NATIONAL DEFENSE INDUSTRIES AND THE REVIVAL OF THE SLOGAN "THE WHOLE NATION SHOULD LEARN FROM THE PLA; THE PLA SHOULD LEARN FROM THE PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY" A PHRASE WHICH HAS NOT APPEARED IN A MAJOR EDITORIAL SINCE 1972. THE QUESTION OF THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN WAS TREATED ALMOST PERFUNCTORILY WITH ONE SENTENCE AT THE END OF THE PARAGRAPH ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

4. FOREIGN AFFAIRS WERE COVERED IN A BLANDLY WORDED SINGLE PARAGRAPH AT THE END OF THE EDITORIAL. IT WAS CLAIMED THAT "THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES HAVE BECOME THE MAIN FORCE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AGAINST THE TWO HEGEMONIC POWERS", AND AS USUAL THE SUPERPOWERS WERE PORTRAYED AS BESET BY DIFFICULTIES. THERE WERE FAR FEWER CLAIMS OF SPECIFIC SUCCESSES, HOWEVER, AND THE TONE OF THIS PORTION OF THE EDITORIAL IMPRESSES US AS LESS CONFIDENT THAN LAST YEAR.

5. IT IS STRIKING THAT, WHILE LAST YEAR'S EDITORIAL CALLED FOR "OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS IN ALL FIELDS OF WORK TO GREET THE FOURTH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS", A YEAR LATER THIS EDITORIAL MAKES NO MENTION OF THE CONGRESS AT ALL. DESPITE REPEATED STATEMENTS BY CHINESE LEADERS THAT THE CONGRESS WILL BE CONVENED IN THE NEAR FUTURE SUFFICIENT UNCERTAINTY APPARENTLY REMAINS THAT PEKING SIMPLY CHOSE TO IGNORE THE QUESTION.

6. FINALLY, RUMORS EARLIER THIS YEAR CONCERNING THE DEMISE OF REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES SEEM TO HAVE BEEN LAID TO REST BY THE EDITORIAL'S STATEMENT THAT "THE ROLE OF CONFIDENTIAL

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REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES AND THAT OF ORGANIZATIONS OF WORKERS, PEASANTS, WOMEN AND OTHER MASS ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD BE GIVEN FULL SCOPE UNDER TOP LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY."

7. COMMENT: THIS YEAR'S EDITORIAL STRIKES US AS A RATHER PERFUNCTORY STRINGING TOGETHER OF CLICHES REFLECTIVE OF WHAT WE SENSE IS A WIDESPREAD SENSE OF BOREDOM WITH THE CURRENT IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN. AS CHINA ENTERS 1975 THE CAMPAIGN TO CRITICIZE LIN PIAO AND CONFUCIUS IS CLEARLY WINDING DOWN (THOUGH DUE LIP SERVICE WILL BE DEVOTED TO IT) TO BE REPLACED BY A NEW LEAP FORWARD IN ECONOMIC PRODUCTION. PROBLEMS AND UNCERTAINTIES REMAIN, HOWEVER, BOTH WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP AND WITH THE POPULACE AT LARGE. RIGHT NOW PEKING SEEMS TO BE MARKING TIME AND KEEPING TENSIONS DOWN

WHILE IT ASSESSES HOW BEST TO COPE WITH THEM. THE PRESENT  
SITUATION IS A FAR CRY FROM THE EMPHASIS ON "GOING AGAINST  
THE TIDE" WHICH PREVAILED AFTER THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS.  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
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**Concepts:** PRESS COMMENTS, INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 02 JAN 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Disposition Event:**  
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**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
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**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 11 JUN 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <11 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <12 JUN 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PRC NATIONAL DAY EDITORIAL - STILL MARKING TIME SUMMARY: THIS YEAR'S "PEOPLE'S DAILY", "RED FLAG", "LIBERATION  
**TAGS:** PINT, PFOR, EGEN, CH  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006